

The Village Setting

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donkey. Now we¹ can get the Athens newspapers on the same day they are published, whereas before they would always be at least two days late and frequently more. We have no illiterates here, so many subscribe to these papers.

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Considerable insight into what living on a good road means was gained from talking with mountain people who had been resettled in the lowlands away from their destroyed villages. One woman mentioned the advantages with little hesitation, beginning with the access to medical treatment mentioned above: "Here medical care is available because of the road. If a child gets appendicitis, he can get to a doctor in time; in our village up above he would have died. Also woman's work is lighter here. The children are better off. They can go to the school right here in the village whereas in our location up above they had to walk from two to three hours every day."

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A commandant of police brought out some interesting examples of what a road means to a village by comparing his community, which got a road ten years before, with another community not far away which was not yet on a road:

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The road brought many economic changes. For instance, my father had three hundred cherry trees which he had never bothered to fence in, prune, or tend in any way. Anybody could come and eat the fruit; they would break the branches. But when the road was built, my father fenced in the land and sold the cherries. The income began coming in. Also, it was a disgrace in our village to sell a chicken, but when the road came the women began to sell both eggs and chickens. This meant more income. Eggs in the village without a road sell for half the price obtained by the women in my village. This holds true for all products.

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In the village without a road you would have a hard time finding a man with enough cash to buy a candle to light in church, while in my village people always seem to have some cash. In the other village each farmer needs a donkey for transportation and will spend about two thousand drachmas a year just for the upkeep of the donkey; in our village we do not need donkeys because we can use the trucks at much less expense.

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Politically, too, roads make a difference. The candidates for parliament seldom get to the villages off the road but try to visit the rest; the same holds true for government officials in position to help in agriculture or other ways. They stick pretty much to the villages which they can easily reach.

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The roads that lead into and out of the plateia do more than bring in the welcome buses, trucks, and occasional private cars; they bring in new services, new ideas, better teachers, and increased economic opportunities. People begin to feel that their village has moved from the shadow of isolation into the Greek sunlight.

1 [i.e., the village of Tsepelovo - Analyst.]

The Peasant at Work

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land but work rented land or as farm laborers; and three are in business (baker, coffeehouse proprietor, and dressmaker). Some of these landowners, in addition to farming, run a local business, or practice a trade such as carpentering and smithing, but their basic orientation is toward the land.

Being farmers, one might assume that they could grow some of their own food. A few manage to do this. Of the 589 acres of cultivated land belonging to the village people, 338 acres are in tobacco. This cash crop, therefore, takes up about 57 percent of all arable land. Corn accounts for 187 acres, vegetable gardens 25 acres, potatoes 20 acres, alfalfa 6 acres, and other crops 13 acres. But no matter what methods one uses in Dafnon, it is impossible to grow enough food for 1145 people on the shallow land. There are two ways out: first, grow a cash crop such as tobacco, sell it, and use the income to buy food and other necessities; the second is for a large number of families to be resettled elsewhere and thus provide sufficient land for those that remain. The latter suggestion is impossible, since other rural areas are also overcrowded and the opportunities in the cities are not yet equal to the demand of those making the exodus from the rural areas. Indeed, cities have been discouraging the influx of new families in search of work.

This leaves only the other possibility of getting most of the family income from tobacco alone. Here, again, the tobacco producer is caught at the mercy of the market or in the "price scissors." Without food of his own production, he has to sell his tobacco at any price offered simply in order to have bread for his children. The producer, according to this study of Dafnon, knew that tobacco prices, including the premium paid by the state, had risen over prewar prices 260 times. This was small consolation for, in reading *Vema*, an Athenian newspaper dated December 14, 1951, he also learned that costs of foodstuffs had risen 425 times, clothing 554 times, fuel 394 times, sundries 367 times, manufactured goods 467 times, and imported supplies 416 times.

It is difficult to grow tobacco, particularly the Oriental type (Basma variety) that requires so much manipulation, leaf by leaf, with an average leaf being four inches long and two and one-half inches wide. The first plowing is usually done in February or March. Seedbeds are heavily manured, and the seed is well mixed with sand and ashes, then sown. The beds are pressed down by foot for better germination; sieved manure is scattered over them; and the beds are watered. This watering is continued, usually morning and evening, until the end of May when the plants are ready to be transplanted. Because of this need for water, the beds are always located near some accessible water supply.

The tobacco fields are usually plowed under three times before the tobacco plants are set out. The same fields are used for tobacco year after

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275 earth-shaking political event would call forth a variety of opinions forcefully expressed.

571 A second attraction is drinking with one's friends. According to Photiadis:¹
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[273] The alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages tend to contribute to a considerable degree to the attraction of the coffeehouse, even though the men can drink all they want in their own homes. *Ouzo*, the alcoholic drink, is drunk only in the coffeehouse. When asked why they don't drink it at home and save money, they will answer that "*ouzo* is drunk only with good company."

275 It is interesting to remember what has already been pointed out: that a son is customarily supposed to visit a coffeehouse in which his father is not likely to be found. Although "times are changing," a breach of this custom throughout much of rural Greece would still be considered disrespectful. 576
593 It may have some connection with the fact that a father, who is supposed to set a good example before his son, might find his storytelling or his convivial drinking dampened if a son were present. This is why, in village after village, where there are almost always three coffeehouses, one is favored by the old men, another by the middle-aged, and the third by the young people. Informants will say that the young people will go to their coffeshop because one can listen to phonograph records, watch the girls pass by, or play noisy games that the older men might not tolerate. The real reason for differentiation may lie in the older traditions which originated in the men's desire to drink with their friends and equals. Photiadis in his study points out how the Greek peasant during his hours at work looks forward eagerly to the time of day when he can go "to the coffeehouse to meet his friends, have a few drinks, and continue this cycle again and again."

275 A third source of pleasure in the coffeehouse is the games. Playing for drinks is common with the loser paying for them. Very rarely do they play for money 524 since it is prohibited by law. Sometimes they become involved in a game quite emotionally and when the game is over they eagerly look forward to the next meeting. A good card player is well-known and therefore is always surrounded by others watching him. Quarrels sometimes go along with the game. Characteristic is the sarcasm of the winner, or perhaps the participants, which tends to raise their emotions.
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In addition to various kinds of card games, backgammon is commonly played. Once in a while one sees a chess game in progress.

275 A fourth and very important attraction of the coffeehouse is the availability of the recent newspaper and a radio. As Photiadis says:
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207 Non-farmers or part-time farmers stop to listen to the early news before they go to their work. During the day the older men sit for many hours in the coffeehouse listening to the radio. In the busy coffeehouse the early part of the eve-

¹[Who described the Northern Greek village of Stravropolis - ANALYST]

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ning or the very late hours are the times when the people pay most attention to the radio. During the busy evening hours it is very difficult to listen to or enjoy the radio because of the noise the participants make.

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The different outsiders who stop by the coffeehouse, particularly the most central and attractive one, bring news and diversion. The bus driver, a government official en route to some other village, a commission merchant after agricultural products or livestock, a stray American tourist, are links with the larger society. Frequently, some offhand remark by one such stranger, because it has the ring of authority, influences the opinions of those present and thereby the opinions of others in the village who receive the information secondhand. Not to be overlooked, of course, is the eye-witness report some fellow villager brings back from the city or a provincial town where he has gone to arrange a business or legal matter. More often than not he can hardly wait to get to the coffeehouse so that he can hold the spotlight as long as he can stretch out the account of what he saw.

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These attractions do not begin to exhaust all the possibilities. Anyone with business to transact arranges to meet the other party or parties at a coffeehouse. One may also go to the same place for a haircut. In Kimine, all three of the coffeehouses have what passes for a barber shop in one corner. Since there is no partitioning, the barber chair, mirror, and all tonorial activities are in full view of the coffeehouse patrons. The barber is particularly in his glory on Saturday and Sunday nights, when the coffeehouses are at their busiest. Likewise, in Anthili, in Central Greece, the three barbers there ply their trade in the coffeehouses, and so it is throughout most of rural Greece. Now and then one even comes across a singing barber who entertains when business is slack. Most coffeehouse proprietors consider him a prize asset.

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THE COFFEEHOUSE CLIENTELE

But knowing what attracts the villagers to the coffeehouse does not tell us who is attracted and to what coffeehouses. Nor does it give us sufficient insight into the way community decisions are reached in the coffeehouse setting. For such information we need to take a closer look at the findings for Stavroupolis:

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Ninety percent of the adult males of the village visit at least one of the seven coffeehouses from time to time. Almost all of these go at least 1-2 days a month throughout the year, with about four fifths going an average of at least 1-2 days a week.

More people go during the summer, but those who go during the winter go more often. Most people vary their frequency from winter to summer and those who change least are obviously those who go every day.

Most people spend at least an hour whenever they go to the coffeehouse, but

631 sought to strengthen the hands of those favoring decentralization in the
647 belief that this would accomplish more with American aid money. On the
[177] other hand, those who favor strong centralization tend to think of govern-
ment primarily in political rather than administrative terms. They see
government as an arena where personalities and parties struggle for the
opportunity of directing the affairs of state. They realize that much political
power is built on patronage or at least the promise of patronage; they also
argue that the political process is built upon compromise and that many
administrative practices are established in governmental bureaus to fore-
stall any such compromises. Which group is prompted more by disinter-
ested, public-spirited motives can best be determined by the observer on
the spot as different personalities, representing these varying points of view,
step onto the stage.

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THE PEASANT AND POLITICS

Shortly after my arrival in Greece in the fall of 1952, I encountered an
interesting case study of the peasant and politics. All over Greece, one
September Sunday, the farmers demonstrated against their government.
This affair was treated, as one would expect, quite differently by the various
Athenian newspapers, but the general tone of argument never got down to
the facts of the peasants' grievance but instead haggled over who was re-
sponsible for getting them all stirred up.

• [204] One newspaper, *Philelevtheros*, under the caption "The Farmers' Plight,"
wrote:

There is no Greek who does not admit the rights of the farmers, or the fact
that they are, and always were, the most neglected class in this country. Every-
one feels the farmers' plight as if it were his own, and they know that Greek
society will never stand on its feet as long as the farmer's lot is a miserable one.
Their present fate, however, is not the fault of the Government, but is due to
a whole century of reactionary rule. The farmers' demonstrations would have
been even stronger and more genuine if the Rally Party agents had not at-
tempted to exploit them. However, they failed in this attempt.

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[204] *Ethnos*, a newspaper representing a rival party, reported under the cap-
tion "Farmers' Demonstrations":

Over the whole of Greece, in all those areas where men strive to get the
maximum crop from our not very fertile soil, solid demonstrations were held
last Sunday. The farmers were protesting with absolutely justified indignation
against the indifference the Government is showing in handling their prob-
lems, and the way in which it has withdrawn its promises to them.

In the face of this Pan-Hellenic uprising, the Government, through its comic
Minister of Coordination, and through its press, finds nothing better to give in

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be taught exclusively in *katharevousa*; and in 1936, Metaxas, always using *demotike* himself, re-established teaching in the popular tongue throughout the primary schools and ordered the publication of an official grammar of the language.¹⁷

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Since then, despite much outcry to the contrary, the *demotike* has remained the language of the elementary school.

I asked the Greeks on a number of occasions if the two languages about which they were arguing were really two different languages. They usually answered "yes" and "no": yes, because the *demotike* has a number of foreign words not found in the other and uses a different grammar; no, because there is considerable overlapping. In other words, to be educated is in a sense to become bilingual, an accomplishment which tends to create social distance between the upper and lower classes. But, interestingly enough, two members of the upper or educated class often speak to each other, not in the purist form, but in a *demotike* which has been transformed to a medium above the peasant level.

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But what does all of this mean for the villager who has never studied *katharevousa*? He admits that when the teacher or the priest begins to use the latter he experiences, "a shiver of holy enthusiasm,"¹⁸ but he does not really follow fully what is said. Therefore, to reach the peasant, one must use *demotike*, which is written as well as a spoken medium of communication. This is what the Communist press started doing, making use of what many consider a rather strange type of *demotike* but nevertheless one aimed at trying to get the Communist message across to the villagers and the lower classes in the cities. The non-Communist papers, although using *demotike* for news stories, continue to write their editorials in the learned, purist Greek, and official government documents continue to appear in the purist form. As a matter of fact, if one seems to prefer *demotike* as a writing medium over the *katharevousa*, many people consider one leftist and therefore somewhat suspect. This is why some of my Greek friends describe the language situation in Greece today as one of "anarchy and confusion."¹⁹ But there is some hope in Kimon Friar's words:

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If in all this confusion, poverty and richness, the modern Greek poet (and he could mean any writer) sometimes despairs, he may remind himself that in periods of language formation great poets have arisen, a Chaucer, a Dante, and even a Shakespeare.²⁰

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more than 200 words in all. Amongst the second and third generations of Orthodox *emigrés* in America to-day English is being widely used as a liturgical language.

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This being so, it is reasonable to presume that where an ancient liturgical language is retained (as in Greece, for example) it is still tolerably intelligible to the ordinary people. It may indeed be questioned whether, except for brief epochs of the Church's history, her common prayer has ever been cast in a language wholly familiar to the unlearned.

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This is not the place to embark upon a description of the present condition of the Greek language: the subject is peculiarly complex and, in certain of its aspects, highly controversial. Suffice it to say that the *katharevousa*, or 'purified' language, which is still, despite many violent assaults, the normal medium of literary expression, differs comparatively little from the formal Greek of the Byzantine writers.

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The leading articles of a newspaper such as *Kathimerini* (the Greek equivalent of *The Times*) can be read with fair comprehension by an average classical scholar. The *demotiki*, or popular language, on the other hand, has undergone a far greater transformation since the days when the liturgies were composed, so that a comparison of the two forms of Greek will reveal very wide differences both in grammar and vocabulary.

Both *katharevousa* and *demotiki* are current to-day, and an educated Greek will be familiar with either. A Greek bishop, for example, will normally use, within the privacy of his own metropolis and in everyday conversation with his people, a Greek which he would never dream of employing when writing to a fellow *despotes* or to the Holy Synod. Amongst the ordinary people, however, at any rate since the popular language ousted the *katharevousa* from the primary schools, the latter is never used; the average shepherd or grocer would be hard put to it to compose a letter in the sort of Greek that may be heard in the lecture rooms of the national university.

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This does not mean, however, that the Greek of the liturgies is more or less incomprehensible to the common people. Far from it. It is often quite startling to find how much of the Psalter, the New Testament and the Church's prayers the Greek peasant has made his own. The fact is that in the ordinary Greek village the children spend so much time in church from earliest infancy onwards that they inevitably become familiar with the language that is used there. By the time they grow up they will commonly know much of the liturgy and the scriptures almost by heart. If anyone should doubt this let him

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A DAY OF WASTENESS AND DESOLATION

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It is not enough to understand the extremity of the affliction that has been endured, although if this is not understood, nothing has been understood.

F. A. VOIGT
The Greek Sedition

SINCE a measure of security was restored to Greece, the ecclesiastical authorities have had little respite from urgent practical problems clamouring for solution. To the most cursory reader of a periodical such as *Ekklesia* (the official journal of the Greek Church), it must have been apparent that during the years which followed the collapse of the Communist sedition the bishops were constantly preoccupied with questions of material welfare and relief. Scarcely an issue but contained some reference to the resettlement of refugees, plans for the rebuilding of destroyed churches or the provision of clothing for the clergy; while the *Paidoupolis*, the *Paidikos Stathmos* and the P.I.K.P.A. clinic and food-distribution centre had, it would seem, become permanent features of the diocesan organisation in many parts of Greece.

It would, nevertheless, be a mistake to assume that the Church of Greece was forced by her preoccupation with these overwhelming material needs to neglect what must always be her primary task. Quite the contrary is true. That concern for the poor, the prisoners, the homeless and the oppressed which one looks for in a Church which pays peculiar reverence to St. John Chrysostom, went hand in hand with a missionary activity which, all else apart, would have sufficed to make the decade from 1940 to 1950 a memorable one in the annals of the Greek Church. Greece, as a theologian of the Zoë Brotherhood wrote to me in 1949, "issued from the war completely ruined—materially. Nothing was left to her of her national wealth. Her houses, villages, fields, factories, communications, and economy were all utterly destroyed. Spiritually, nevertheless, she emerged from the chaos of war reborn."

It is only against this background of suffering and devastation, of

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A MACEDONIAN DIOCESE

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A FEW paces from the gates of the University of Salonica, just south of the Via Ignatia where antique tramcars go clanging across the dusty waste that was once the Jewish cemetery, the daily papers, which play so important a part in Greek intellectual and social life, used to be publicly displayed every morning so that all men—poor scholars and unbeneficed clerks as well as prosperous merchants rich in this world's goods—might read of the heroic exploits of the armies which strove to drive the Accursed of God from the snowy heights of Pindos: a public-spirited gesture, worthy of a people who have ever set the pursuit of truth far beyond mere commercial advantage, and one of which I was often glad to avail myself on my way from the university library at midday.

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One sunny forenoon in the spring of 1949 as I scanned the headlines of *Kathimerini* and *Akropolis* a photograph caught my eye. At first sight it seemed in no way remarkable: a group of country clergy gathered about their father in God—the latter an impressive figure wearing the *enkolpion*, or pectoral eikon, which is the mark of the higher clergy. Closer scrutiny, however, revealed that this was no ordinary clerical assembly, for every one of these reverend personages had a rifle slung across his shoulder. I turned in some astonishment to the accompanying paragraph and read that "in the war against the insurgents, the clergy of Grevena hastened to be enrolled under the banner of the movement for the deliverance of the Hellenic race. . . ." The photograph, it concluded, "shows the Metropolitan of Grevena with his armed priests".

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I went to lunch with my curiosity whetted. Grevena, I knew, was a peculiarly isolated diocese and one that had suffered severely, first at the hands of the Germans and again in the present troubles. Further enquiries disclosed that the present Metropolitan, the Lord Theokletos, was a man renowned for his ardent patriotism and his immense stature.

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Patras during these years, and when his uncle died in 1902 there was a great and widespread desire that he should succeed him. On this occasion, however, as on every other, Father Eusebius declined all offers of ecclesiastical preferment. With the example of Hierotheos Metropoulos before his eyes he was in no danger of underestimating the influence that could be exercised by a bishop who was a saint in deed as well as in name; but he shrank from the heavy burden of administrative cares which would inevitably hinder the free exercise of that ministry of preaching and reconciliation to which God had called him.

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After the death of Hierotheos Metropoulos, Father Eusebius spent a further five years in missionary journeys to every part of liberated Greece, and then, in 1907, came the foundation of the Brotherhood of Theologians, Zoë: a society organised on monastic lines which should, if God so willed, serve as a fit instrument for the continued regeneration of the Greek Church and for the extension of the work begun nearly seventy years before by Cosmas Phlamiatos and Ignatius Lambropoulos. A small house in an Athens suburb served as the headquarters of the new brotherhood; and here Father Eusebius gathered about him a little group of young theologians consisting of two priests and two laymen. In 1911 they commenced the publication of the journal Zoë, which was destined before long to extend the teaching of the movement to every diocese of the newly-liberated provinces of northern Greece.

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From these modest beginnings there has sprung a movement which in the course of a little more than a generation has exercised a most powerful influence upon the life of the Greek Church. Through the preaching of the Zoë brothers and the many-sided activity of the movements which have grown up under their supervision, the religious life of many a town and village has been transformed beyond all recognition since the days when Apostolos Makrakes first preached in the public places of Athens, and the youthful Eusebius Marthopoulos pondered the writings of the ancient divines and swept the classrooms and corridors of the School of the Logos.

THE BATTLE OF THE DEPTH

I have already referred to the movement known as *Anaplas*. This was founded as early as 1887 by two lay disciples of Apostolos Makrakes: it is to the latter that it owes its primary characteristics. Its efforts were mainly directed to resisting, by means of preaching, lectures, and the publication of apologetic and philosophical writings, the spread of materialistic notions derived from western Europe. It was from the start a predominantly lay movement widely supported by theologians, philosophers, lawyers and university professors, as well as by many merchants and business men. Its journal formerly had a wide circulation in professional and academic circles and was issued, at first weekly and then fortnightly, right down to 1941.

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During the eighteen-nineties the *Anaplas* movement supported ten preachers who worked in the Athens-Piraeus region and also to some extent in the provinces. The Crown Prince Constantine was an honorary president, and amongst its most active members were the lawyer, John Skaltsounes (who is looked upon in Greece as a forerunner of the *Aktines* movement), and a Minister of Justice, Nicolas Demetrakopoulos, who, though not himself a trained theologian, was one of the first persons to devote his attention seriously to Christian apologetics. The real leader of the movement, however, was the lawyer and *bierokeryx*, Michael Galanos, and its final eclipse coincided with his death in 1948.

Father Eusebius and his associates collaborated with this movement for many years as preachers and contributors to its journal. Then came the foundation of the *Zoë* Brotherhood and the growth of a separate movement with its own periodical, and from this time onward the older association declined. It lingered on for many years: Archbishop Chrysostom Papadopoulos gave it his vigorous support from 1922 to 1938 (his brother was for a time its director), and it was not until quite recently that it was finally swallowed up in newer movements like *Aktines*, the home mission society known as *Apostolos Paulos*, and *Enoria*.

The *Anaplas* movement was admirably equipped to meet the rationalist influence at work in Athens during the latter part of the nineteenth century; it was not able to adapt itself to the needs of a changing situation—hence its decline. From this pioneer association, however, there sprang two other movements, both of which have exercised a considerable influence during recent years. Both, it is interesting to note, were founded by parish priests. One (which is now under the direction of Father Angelos Nissiotes) has developed until it is second only to *Zoë* amongst the unofficial movements in the scope

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794 and importance of its activity. The other was the creation of a remark-
 175 able parish priest, Father George Makres, who was for many years in
 charge of the parish of St. Basil in the Piraeus. He it was who in the
 year 1896 first established catechetical schools (there had been earlier
 but unsuccessful attempts), and both in this field and in that of the
 formation of 'circles' or groups for the study of the Bible he was a
 • [204] distinguished pioneer. He also edited a religious journal bearing the
 title of *Anamorphosis* (Transformation). After his death in 1943 his
 work in the Piraeus was taken up by one of his numerous spiritual sons,
 the then Archimandrite Damaskenos Kotzias (now raised to the
 episcopate).

The second of these movements was founded in 1913 by Father
 Mark Tsaktanes and grew up about his parish church of St. Catherine.
 Like Father George, in the Piraeus, this married priest led the way in the
 organisation of catechetical schools (some schools which still flourish
 in our own day are his foundations), and of circles for the study of the
 Bible. When he died, his brother-in-law, Father Angelos Nissiotis,
 the priest in charge of the parish of the Life-Giving Source in the
 heart of Athens, carried on and greatly extended his work. The
 'Orthodox Christian Unions' and catechetical schools under Father
 Angelos' direction are now extremely vigorous, and out of this move-
 ment have come some of the most interesting experiments of recent
 years.

An admirable example of the older movements which have grown up
 in the provincial towns of Greece is that known as the '*Apostoliki*
Diakonia of Salonica', founded in 1928 by a lay theologian with the
 primary object of promoting the study of the holy scriptures among
 adults. In addition to this side of its work it had founded by 1949 some
 thirty-one catechetical schools, with a total membership of nearly
 3,000 boys and girls. The teachers in these schools included students
 and professional men. From this movement there has sprung since the
 end of the occupation a smaller organisation of great interest. This is
 [874] the 'School of Christ', the creation of the Archimandrite Timothy
 Papamichael. Its primary object is the training of preachers and lay
 evangelists. This task has been tackled with such energy that already
 by 1950 there were more than 120 members of the movement—mostly
 young men and women—at work in Salonica and the north of Greece.

This unofficial 'Apostolic Diaconate' has led the way in the creation
 of catechetical schools and small groups for Bible study in the northern

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794 grave. Many of the youth movements have in fact sprung from older associations which were intended in the first place for adults. This was so in the case of the Apostoliki Diakonia of Salonica, for instance, and it was not until nearly twenty years after its foundation that Zoë turned its attention to the development of catechetical schools.

So far as Zoë organisations are concerned, the young man or woman who outgrows *X.Φ.Ε.* or *X.Ε.Ε.Ν.* may pass to one of the three movements known collectively as *Σ.Χ.Σ.* (*Synergazomena Christianika Somateia*) One of these is for parents, another for teachers. The third, the 'Christian Union of Scientists' (*X.Ε.Ε.*) founded in 1935, membership of which is open to all sorts of professional men, is of considerable importance.

• [204] This is the movement responsible for the publication of the fortnightly journal *Aktines*, and, moreover, for the remarkable volume entitled *Towards a Christian Civilisation* which was published in Greek and English in 1947. It is in *Aktines* circles that the pioneer labours of Makrakes and his associates who founded the Anaplasis movement have come to fruition.

Until quite recently *X.Ε.Ε.* was confined to Athens. Now, however, there is a lively branch in Salonica and little groups of professional men are being formed in many provincial towns of Greece. One such town, which I visited early in 1950, had a 'circle' whose members included the mayor, the doctor, the dentist, the commanding officer of the gendarmerie and two lawyers. All these would meet once a week, together with the preacher of the metropolis (a priest of the Zoë Brotherhood), to study the Bible and to discuss the bearing of their faith upon the life of their community. Such a movement abounds in promise. Not the least interesting feature of the *Aktines* wing of the Zoë organisation is the prominent part that many distinguished professors of the science faculties of the universities have played in the leadership of this Christian movement.

Apart from the *Christianika Somateia* there are several other movements which have grown up under the supervision of the Zoë Brotherhood: the home mission association known as *Apostolos Paulos*, which was founded three years before the death of Father Eusebius and has an admirable centre in the very heart of Athens; the *Eusebeia* sisterhood, which organises catechetical schools, trains certain of its members as nurses, and publishes a periodical for children. There are, besides, several educational establishments in Athens and the Piraeus, hostels for university students in Athens and Salonica, and a Young Workers'

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centre at Agrinion which includes an orphanage, a hospital (where the nurses are members of the Eusebeia sisterhood), and a group of workshops. All this has sprung from the little brotherhood which Father Eusebius gathered about him in 1907. 794

I have made no mention of many other voluntary movements which now flourish in Athens and its suburbs: movements like the 'Christian Corner', the 'Christian Social Union' and the association known as the 'Three Hierarchs'. All these were founded by lay people and have remained wholly lay in character. Their members include many distinguished men and women; their activities are both evangelistic and philanthropic.

No account of the evangelistic activity of recent years can ignore the part played by Christian literature, both periodicals and books. Almost every movement has at least one periodical of its own, and the circulation of these weekly and fortnightly papers is astonishingly large for a country where most of the inhabitants devote little time to reading, and where (even in the universities) oral instruction still predominates. The periodical *Zoë*, for example, which has been issued weekly since 1911, now has more than 100,000 subscribers. Several of the provincial movements publish excellent periodicals which circulate all over Greece; such for instance is the journal *Apolytrois*, published every month by the Apostoliki Diakonia of Thessaloniki, which has a circulation of about 12,000 copies. The 'School of Christ' in the same city also publishes monthly papers, devoted to scriptural exegesis, which are used by many preachers. Both *Zoë* and the Christian Unions of Father Nissiotis publish periodicals for children. 204 794 [876]

In the field of book production, as elsewhere, the *Zoë* Brotherhood has led the way, and the exhibition held in Athens in January, 1950, was an impressive monument to the diligence with which the written word has been cultivated in recent years. Father Eusebius himself wrote many books during the last twenty years of his life, and his *magnum opus*, *The Destiny of Man*, has exercised untold influence. Amidst a wealth of books covering almost every field of Christian literature I would pay special tribute to the work of the brotherhood in publishing the text of the New Testament and the Septuagint in moderately-priced editions well printed on good paper. The *Zoë* pocket edition of the New Testament has had an enormous circulation. 214 794

Of liturgical reform I have already had occasion to speak. Its primary

THE BATTLE OF THE DEPTH

training of men for work in the provinces. The new movement has taken up and extended almost every type of evangelistic work developed by the voluntary associations. Its activity in the field of publishing has been particularly notable, and has been greatly extended by the setting up of a modern printing press at Moni Petraki in December, 1951. The official journal of the Church of Greece as well as new periodicals for the parish clergy and for the family are printed on this press. 793
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Amongst the projects which the Apostoliki Diakonia hopes to carry out within the next few years is the creation of a 'spiritual centre' just outside Athens, which will include a training college for deaconesses, a hostel for girls studying in the theological faculty of the university, and a model high school, all grouped about a church. Other model schools are to be set up in Tenos and Patras. Like the voluntary movements, the official Apostolic Diaconate supports preachers working in the country dioceses and organises catechetical schools. It seems probable that many of the smaller voluntary movements that flourish in the provinces will before long be absorbed by the official Home Mission with its centralised organisation and unrivalled material resources. [874]
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In the case of the more important voluntary associations, however, the position is rather different. The Zoë Brotherhood, above all, now has a highly developed organisation peculiar to itself, and while the movement's ultimate aims are in no sense incompatible with those of the official Home Mission, it has acquired a very marked spirit and tradition of its own. Though the days when members of the brotherhood could be tried for false teaching and *kakodoxia* are long since past, and its preachers and confessors stand high in the estimation of the ordinary people, Zoë still has many bitter opponents. The brotherhood is still young and it would be surprising had it escaped altogether from the growing pains of youth. Not all of its members have been endowed with the surpassing gentleness and mature discretion of its founder; in denouncing the evils of the times they have sometimes shown a spirit that recalls Apostolos Makrakis rather than Father Eusebius. 794

The voluntary movements have, it must be confessed, borrowed somewhat unwarily from the west. Their influence in the field of eikonography, for example, has been deplorable: the wonderful traditions of the Greek Church have been utterly abandoned in favour of feeble imitations of the effete and secularised religious art of Latin Christendom. Here, at least, the Apostoliki Diakonia has set a most [177]
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PUBLIC LIFE

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party will be able to rise once more from its defeat and become again a disciplined, dominating force in internal Greek politics, will depend at least as much upon the course of international affairs as upon any efforts the Greek Communists may make by themselves. 668

Nevertheless, in 1950 signs were not wanting to show that Communism was still a force to be reckoned with in Greece. In spite of all the police had been able to do, it seemed certain that an illegal underground organization continued to exist, aimed more, perhaps, at collecting intelligence for foreign Communist states than at fomenting revolution in Greece. Greek-language broadcasts from behind the iron curtain continued to reach the country, informing the faithful of the proper attitudes to take on current political questions. The fact has already been mentioned that one Athens newspaper faithfully followed the line laid down by Communist broadcasts; a second appeared most sympathetic, though its editors did not always conform completely to Soviet directives. [204] •

On the political stage, a new party was formed in advance of the elections of September 1951 which seemed very like EAM, the Communist-dominated resistance front which had so nearly won control of Greece in 1944. This new party was known by the initials EDA (Enosis Dimokratikon Aristera, or Union of the Democratic Left). Its candidates in 1951 were drawn in considerable measure from among persons who had made a name for themselves during the wartime resistance — many of them being in jail as Communists when the elections were held. 666
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In spite of these circumstances, EDA met with very considerable success. In 1951 it won 180,640 votes, and in the elections of 1952, 152,011. In both cases, the EDA total was close to 10 per cent of all valid ballots, amounting to 10.6 per cent in 1951 and 9.6 per cent in 1952. Inasmuch as EDA participated in an electoral coalition with other opposition parties in the election

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At times of great calamities the tempo and the variety of songs increase which are rather of a mournful type. Every one who has lost his closest friend, a son, a relative, her admirer expresses their saddest grief in song which is made by each person with a touching tune. When somebody mourns in the village usually the light gay type of music disappears for sometime and the village bans dances. All share alike in the grief of their neighbor, and even if there was a marriage, it would be postponed due to the general approval of the villagers for the sake of the mourning period.

Reading. Megali Vrisi does more reading than any other village in the neighborhood. This is perhaps due to the influence of the priest-teacher whose life has become a part of his villagers in educating them. He served his villagers for 37 years as teacher and priest, still continuing as a priest. His main purpose for teaching his people to read and write was to make them able to read and understand the universe about them. He had his own personal library and out of it loaned books /40/ to bright farmers so that they could read them to the others. His plan in giving lectures to the farmers on certain scientific topics created among the farmers an interest in reading and discovering. The books that interested them most were biographies, histories, geography, politics and inventions. None were interested in fiction or romance.

The younger children had more zest in reading than the older people, but there were not enough books. I often found young men, at night sitting in groups of 6 to 10 to read the whole book with a kerosene lamp light so that others might have the chance to read it too. Reading among women is done less due to the nature of their work. They are kept busy from sunrise till late at night. Another important phase of the reading is the daily newspaper at the coffee house. Everybody once or twice a day drops in at the coffee house to read the newspaper. Discussions as to its news and editorial comments are conducted between groups of different political beliefs.

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that he is to have a little sibling; or she may simply wait until the birth, and explain that the midwife brought the sibling. The knee baby is openly expected to be jealous, and visitors inquire in his presence whether he is so. When he sees the mother suckling the new baby, he may cry for suck too; in this case the mother will invite him to suckle on the other side, or offer him a piece of bread; or, if she knows him to be jealous or sickly, she may invite him on her own initiative. Such jealousy apparently does not last long. The knee baby is already used to having his mother shout at him and then treat him with warmth and gentleness; he does not find this condition changed. The mother makes no effort to hide her delight in the new baby, to share herself equally, with fairness. Instead, she invites the knee baby to share in her wonder and excitement over the new baby. He has already been sharing in her everyday life and work, and he shares in this also. Gradually, he takes on her attitude, the cherishing, loving, responsible attitude which characterizes the relationship of older to younger siblings in Greece. 865
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There is a magazine addressed to parents, now in its fourth year; but Greek newspapers carry no child care sections, either on weekdays or Sundays. Of the magazines, only those catering to non-intellectuals, such as *Romanza*, carry child and maternal care information; the articles are usually translations from foreign articles. The material is generally developed on behaviouristic principles, stressing scheduling and isolation of the baby. 854
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EDUCATION

Education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece, and above all, professional education. The doctor, the lawyer, the engineer and the specialist have high standing and command large dowries. A university professor has high standing; a schoolteacher has the respect of the people, but has lost some of the standing which he had before education became centralized. The printed word is very important, even revered. It is traditionally so; the calends of Saint Basil, sung on the night of 31 December, represent the Saint as carrying a book and paper and ink-well. The lullabies often promise the baby boy a high education, the baby girl an educated bridegroom. In a folk song, a girl, rejecting a suitor, says she will marry only an educated man. 871
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There has been universal compulsory education up to the sixth grade since 1911,¹ but the peasants, particularly the women, are reported to be largely illiterate. This is due only in part to the fact that money for girls goes into dowry rather than for further schooling. [872]
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¹ John Maurogordato, 1931, p. 85.

871 Not all the older peasants attended school as children, or attended
 [212] it for more than three or four years; and often what literacy they
 [217] did have was lost in the course of time, because they had no op-
 [779] portunity to use it. There are no libraries in the villages or in most
 of the provincial centres. There is also no pattern of reading the Bible,
 which has maintained reading knowledge in other lands. In Greece
 the translation of the Bible into modern Greek was forbidden until
 recent years. The men, however, do read the newspapers with care,
 829 when they find them, and they have a detailed knowledge and a private
 [521] opinion on international and national events and policies; politics,
 well understood, forms the basis of most discussions, in village or
 city. The satire on the Court of Petty Offences reports a case where
 two simple workers on the bus, engrossed in a discussion of the
 Spanish Civil War, use the perspiring back of another passenger as
 the map of Spain upon which to follow the manoeuvres of the two
 armies. The incident is amusing, but not surprising to Greek readers.
 A book on nutrition urges housewives to pattern their planning on
 the principles of the British monarchy, not those of the Italian
 monarchy, assuming knowledge of the principles underlying the
 difference.

517 In the cities, there is much intellectual activity on a high level.
 Many people write articles or poems or stories for their own satis-
 faction in their leisure time. Conversation presupposes wide reading.
 [214] The inexpensive paper-bound volumes of Greek works, as well as of
 translations of foreign works, old and contemporary, make such
 904 reading possible. There are 10 daily papers in Athens, and a number
 of magazines catering to literary tastes, or addressed to simpler
 people. Magazines carry reports of new scientific developments
 throughout the world, and a number of educational articles. Those
 addressed to the *cosmakis*, the simple people, carry articles on child
 and maternal care, have cooking and sewing hints, as well as columns
 of personal advice. The newspapers maintain a high literacy and
 scholarly standard.

RELIGION

771 Religion and the Church are almost synonymous for the Greeks;
 795 and the Greek Orthodox religion is entirely synonymous with Greek-
 619 ness. When the Greek says: "Is he a Christian?" he means "Is he a
 Greek?" The Greek Church is the main factor in Greek continuity
 among emigrants nowadays. Throughout the past centuries, the
 Church has maintained Greek consciousness in many communities
 in Asia Minor, where the people spoke Turkish as a mother tongue
 and followed Turkish customs. The few Protestant Greeks occupy
 an ambiguous position and find it difficult to explain that they are
 really Greek, since they do not conform to the tradition of